

Message Text

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R 141835Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7400
INFO USMISSION USBERLIN
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 06499

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, WB, GW, US, UK, FR, UR
SUBJECT: DISCUSSION AT QUADRIpartite AMBASSADORIAL
LUNCHEON, APRIL 14

1. I HOSTED THE AMBASSADORIAL LUNCHEON APRIL 14.
STATE SECRETARY GEHLHOFF REPRESENTED THE GERMAN
FOREIGN OFFICE. THE FOLLOWING ITEMS OF INTEREST
WERE RAISED.
2. THERE WAS A GENERAL DISCUSSION AND REVIEW OF GDR
MEASURES OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS AFFECTING EAST
BERLIN. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR SPECULATED ABOUT
WHAT FURTHER STEPS THE GDR MIGHT BE EXPECTED TO TAKE
TO STRENGTHEN THEIR CLAIM TO BE COMPLETELY SOVEREIGN
IN EAST BERLIN. ONE POSSIBLE STEP, HE FELT, WOULD BE
FOR THE GDR TO HAVE THE EAST BERLIN REPRESENTATIVES
TO THE VOLKSKAMMER ELECTED IN THE SAME MANNER AS
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OTHER REPRESENTATIVES; THIS WAS A MOVE WHICH REPORTEDLY
HAD BEEN SUGGESTED PREVIOUSLY BY THE GDR BUT TURNED
DOWN BY THE USSR. HOWEVER, PERHAPS AS A REACTION TO
THE PARTICIPATION IN THE FUTURE OF REPRESENTATIVES
FROM WEST BERLIN IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, IT WAS STILL
CONCEIVABLE THAT SUCH A STEP WOULD BE TAKEN
AMBASSADOR WRIGHT THOUGHT THAT THIS MIGHT NOT OCCUR

UNTIL 1980, WHEN THE GDR VOLKSKAMMER WILL BE UP FOR RE-ELECTION, BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WAS SOMETHING WHICH THE GDR PRESUMABLY COULD ANNOUNCE AT ANY TIME.

3. THE QUESTION OF POSSIBLE ACTION BY THE USSR OR GDR AGAINST ALLIED FLAG PATROLS IN EAST BERLIN WAS MENTIONED, BUT ALL PRESENT AGREED THAT SUCH A MOVE WOULD BE OF THE UTMOST SERIOUSNESS AND WOULD CALL FOR CONCERTED, FIRM COUNTERACTION BY THE ALLIES. THERE WAS NO DISSENT WHEN I SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE WELL IF CONSIDERATION COULD BE GIVEN TO CONTINGENCY PLANNING CONCERNING ACTIONS WHICH THE ALLIES MIGHT TAKE IN THE EVENT OF STEPS AGAINST THE FLAG PATROLS.

4. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR STRESSED HIS VIEW THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR THE ALLIES TO REACT TO GDR MOVES IN EAST BERLIN THROUGH STRONG, TIMELY PROTESTS OR BY OTHER MOVES; OTHERWISE, THE GDR WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO CLAIM TO THE SOVIETS THAT THERE WAS NO DANGER IN THEIR ACTIONS SINCE THE ALLIES THEMSELVES WERE NOT PREPARED TO DO ANYTHING. IN THIS CONTEXT, I RAISED THE QUESTION OF APPROPRIATE ALLIED ACTION VIS-A-VIS THE GDR, NOTING THAT WE HAD REFUSED TO ARRANGE A FIRM DATE FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN'S VISIT TO THE GDR AND HAD ALSO DELAYED ISSUANCE OF VISAS TO GDR TECHNICIANS. I NOTED THAT WE HAD FOUND THE VISIT OF THE UK MINISTER OF STATE GORONWY-ROBERTS TO THE GDR AT THIS PARTICULAR TIME RISKED GIVING THE WRONG SIGNAL. CONFIDENTIAL

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AMBASSADOR WORMSER SUPPORTED MY REMARKS IN THIS REGARD. AMBASSADOR WRIGHT DEFENDED THE GORONWY-ROBERTS VISIT IN FAMILIAR TERMS, NOTING THAT, AS DISTINCT FROM WHAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE US AND FRENCH SITUATIONS TO BE, FIRM DATES HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED SOME TIME AGO FOR THE GORONWY-ROBERTS VISIT AND THAT AN OUTRIGHT CANCELLATION OF THE VISIT WOULD HAVE SEEMED AN ACT OF DISPROPORTIONATE SEVERITY. IN THIS CONNECTION, WRIGHT ALSO RAISED THE QUESTION OF INTER-GERMAN TRADE, COMMENTING THAT HE DID NOT OBSERVE ANY INTENTION ON THE PART OF THE FRG TO USE THE LEVEL OF TRADE WITH THE GDR AS A MEANS OF DEMONSTRATING DISSATISFACTION WITH GDR ACTIONS. GEHLHOFF, IN A DISCURSIVE RESPONSE, ACKNOWLEDGED THIS TO BE TRUE, ALTHOUGH HE GAVE GENERAL SUPPORT TO THE IDEA THAT WESTERN UNHAPPINESS WITH GDR MOVES SHOULD BE MADE EVIDENT.

5. I REFERRED TO THE INCIDENT ON MARCH 21 WHEN THE FRG HAD MADE ARRANGEMENTS, WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH

THE ALLIES, TO TRANSPORT A CONVICTED TERRORIST BY
CHARTERED AIRCRAFT FROM BERLIN TO THE FRG, NOTING THAT

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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THE AIRCRAFT HAD BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY ARMED POLICE
FROM BADEN-WUERTTEMBERG. I EXPRESSED OUR SERIOUS CON-
CERN IN THIS REGARD AND NOTED THE DIFFICULTIES SUCH
ACTION COULD CAUSE IN TERMS OF THE AIR CORRIDORS AND
RELATIONS WITH THE USSR. WE HOPED THAT THE NECESSARY
MEASURES WOULD BE TAKEN BY THE FRG TO AVOID A REPETITION
OF INCIDENTS OF THIS KIND IN THE FUTURE AND I WAS SURE
THAT ACTIONS OF THE TYPE UNDERTAKEN COULD BE
LAWFULLY ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH COOPERATION AND CON-
SULTATION WITH THE RESPONSIBLE ALLIED AUTHORITIES. THE
OTHER TWO AMBASSADORS SUPPORTED MY REMARKS. GEHLHOFF,
WHO INDICATED THAT HE HAD ANTICIPATED MY REMARKS, SAID
HE HAD BEEN INFORMED OF THIS INCIDENT ONLY TODAY AND
HAD BEEN VERY DISTURBED TO LEARN OF IT. HE STATED
THAT HE WOULD BE WRITING TO ALL CONCERNED MINISTRIES
TODAY EXPRESSING STRONG CONCERN ABOUT WHAT HAD TAKEN
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PLACE AND INSISTING THAT NO COMPARABLE ACTIONS BE UNDERTAKEN IN THE FUTURE WITHOUT THOROUGH CONSULTATION AND PREPARATION WITH THE ALLIES.

6. THERE WAS GENERALIZED DISCUSSION ABOUT FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE GDR, BUT GEHLHOFF HAD NOTHING NEW OR SPECIFIC TO OFFER ON THIS SUBJECT. HE CONFIRMED THAT BESTANDSAUFNAHME (STOCK-TAKING) OF SPECIFIC ISSUES WAS UNDERWAY BUT THAT NO TOP-LEVEL DECISION HAD YET BEEN TAKEN IN THE FRG GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE TIMING OR SUBSTANCE OF THE TALKS. HE SAID THAT MINISTER OF STATE WISCHNEWSKI WOULD CONSULT WITH THE ALLIED AMBASSADORS BEFORE ANY NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN.

7. WITH REFERENCE TO PREPARATIONS FOR THE SENIOR-LEVEL MEETING ON BERLIN IN LONDON ON MAY 7, I MENTIONED THE SUGGESTIONS WHICH WE HAD MADE IN THE BONN GROUP APRIL 13 REGARDING PAPERS WHICH MIGHT BE PREPARED FOR THIS MEETING. I EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THERE COULD BE SPEEDY REACTIONS FROM CAPITALS WITH REGARD TO THESE SUGGESTIONS SO THAT PREPARATIONS COULD BE MADE IN A TIMELY WAY FOR THE LONDON MEETING. GEHLHOFF COMMENTED IN PARTICULAR ABOUT THE FRG'S INTEREST IN THE STUDY OF THE VIABILITY OF BERLIN AND SAID THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE IS IN TOUCH WITH OTHER INTERESTED MINISTRIES WITH A VIEW TO EXPEDITING A CONTRIBUTION TO THIS STUDY, WHICH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY CONSIDERS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE; HOWEVER, HE DOUBTED IF MUCH OF SUBSTANCE COULD BE PREPARED ON THIS TOPIC IN TIME FOR THE LONDON MEETING.

8. I RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE "REICHSTAG WRAP-UP" PROJECT BY THE ARTIST CHRISTO JAVACHEFF, SAYING WE HAD BEEN INFORMED THAT BUNDESTAG PRESIDENT CARTENS HAD GRANTED PERMISSION FOR THE PROJECT. THE FRENCH
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AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED SURPRISE AT THIS AND SAID HE HAD UNDERSTOOD THE BONN GROUP IN ITS MEETING APRIL 13 HAD TAKEN A NEGATIVE STAND ABOUT IT. IN ANY CASE, HE WAS STRONGLY OPPOSED TO THIS PROJECT; HE FELT IT WAS ENTIRELY INAPPROPRIATE AND, MOREOVER, THERE WAS THE ADDED COMPLICATION THAT THE REAR OF THE REICHSTAG (OR AT LEAST THE REAR BALCONIES) EXTENDED INTO

EAST BERLIN. HE THOUGHT THAT IF THE ARTIST WANTED TO DO SOMETHING OF THIS KIND, HE SHOULD DO IT SOMEWHERE IN WEST GERMANY BUT DEFINITELY NOT IN BERLIN. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR DID NOT EXPRESS A PERSONAL POSITION,

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BUT HE FELT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO SEEK THE VIEWS OF THE BERLIN LEADERSHIP ON THE PROJECT BEFORE MAKING A DECISION.

9. THE SITUATION OF HESS IN THE SPANDAU PRISON WAS DISCUSSED IN GENERAL TERMS. I NOTED THAT SECRETARY VANCE HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF HESS' RELEASE IN MOSCOW AND HAD RECEIVED A FIRM TURNDOWN. THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR INDICATED THAT THE FOREIGN OFFICE PLANNED TO RAISE THE SAME QUESTION WITH THE SOVIETS IN LONDON; THEREAFTER, ASSUMING ANOTHER NEGATIVE RESPONSE, THE WAY SHOULD BE CLEAR TO PRESS FOR IMPROVED LIVING CONDITIONS FOR THE PRISONER.

10. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF THE STATE

OF THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN WEST BERLIN. STRESSING
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THAT HE WAS SPEAKING UNOFFICIALLY AND PERSONALLY, GEHLHOFF SAID HE UNDERSTOOD SCHUETZ HAD BEEN ON THE POINT OF RESIGNING AS GOVERNING MAYOR TWO MONTHS AGO. SINCE THAT TIME, HE HAS RECOUPED SOMEWHAT AND NOW SEEMS IN A STRONGER POSITION. IT IS ASSUMED THAT HE WILL CONTINUE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, BUT THERE IS NO CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF WHAT THIS MEANS. IT IS POSSIBLE, GEHLHOFF SAID, THAT SCHUETZ COULD GO WITHIN A MONTH OR THAT HE COULD REMAIN FOR ANOTHER YEAR OR SO. GEHLHOFF LEFT THE CLEAR IMPRESSION THAT HE FELT THE LEADERSHIP SITUATION IN WEST BERLIN WAS NOT A STABLE ONE NOR ONE WHICH INSPIRES MUCH CONFIDENCE.

11. THE LUNCHEON TODAY CONSTITUTED A FAREWELL FOR AMBASSADOR WORMSER, WHO WILL BE RETIRING, AND FOR STATE SECRETARY GEHLHOFF, WHO WILL BECOME FRG AMBASSADOR TO THE VATICAN. IN A RATHER EMOTIONAL TOAST, GEHLHOFF EXPOUNDED ON THE SATISFACTION HE HAD DERIVED FROM HIS ASSOCIATION WITH THE THREE ALLIES IN BERLIN MATTERS AND SAID THAT FRG PARTICIPATION IN THE QUADRIPARTITE GROUP SYMBOLIZED FOR HIM THE FULL INTEGRATION OF WEST GERMANY IN THE SYSTEM OF THE WESTERN DEMOCRACIES.
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